175*
166

settlements facilitated the tasks of governing, taxing and converting them.[39] Gadiane writes:

> The priests in those days found it difficult to go to Mangudkod because the way was covered with trees. Therefore, they suggested that the people transfer their barrio from Mangudkod to Kalumpang which was near the present cemetery of the poblacion.

So the people moved south, within a mile of the coast. At this time it appears that more Filipinos lived in the Siaton River valley than on the small plain of Canaway; the 1903 census figures suggest this settlement pattern. The exposed nature of the plain to Moro attacks was one reason why it was less attractive to early settlers; as previously noted the barriofolk of Bokoboko abandoned their Canaway community because of Moro attacks and moved inland. This is only one example how Moro expeditions against the people of southern Negros influenced early population patterns in this area.

175*
794

When the people lived at Mangudkod a priest called Valero (nicknamed Paring Gulang, i.e. "Old Priest") who resided in Dauin, made occasional visits to the community. By the 19th century the influence of the Catholic church was expanding in this community; Gadiane states about 1817 (during Capitan Etib's office) the position of cristan was first opened to the barriofolk of Mangudkod.

> This was the first time Filipinos were made cristans to a white priest. The people appointed as cristans had to attend to various services at the church in Dauin. They were to serve the priest one week and then another group would replace them. But this was not really followed. Instead of serving by weeks they served by months.

---

[39] James L. LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, p. 43.

attempts as the Maura Law (1893) came too late to be enforced effectively. There had been a gradual shift in the objectives of the "Propaganda Movement" from reform to home rule and finally to independence.[115] Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio, the secret society, Katipunan, was founded in July, 1892, with the main objective of establishing Philippine independence from Spain by revolution. There was increasing concern over conditions in the Philippines by highly-placed officials in Manila. The number of Spanish soldiers in the Philippines was small, and the 1895 draft in Siaton probably was a reflection of this growing consternation. Although Gadiane was one of twenty-five trainees selected during the drawing, the influence of the parish priest removed him from the list.

By 1895 there were three Recollect priests in the Siaton area with permanent residences at Barrios Giliga-on and Bonbonon, besides the poblacion. Gadiane was paid three dollars a month to keep the records of the churches (birth, marriage, death, and baptismal) and to file the circulars which came from the bishop at Bacolod and other religious documents. The diocese of Jaro (Panay), which included Negros, had existed since 1865.

In August, 1896, the discovery of the Katipunan by the Spaniards in Manila resulted in the wholesale arrest

[115] Eufronio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines: II, "Since the British Occupation." Manila, Alip and Brion Publications, 1952, p. 89.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
Central Bisayan OAI

796 In Negros Oriental province there are now fiestas which are held on dates other than the patron saint's birthday (*kahologan*). If the saint's birthday falls during the holy week or conflicts with a fiesta in a nearby community, the date may be disregarded and a more convenient one selected by the people. Three fiestas were listed in the 1951 *Catholic Directory of the Philippines*, for Negros Island, with "moveable", i. e. unfixed, dates. The patron saint of Barrio Caticugan and Zamboanguita *poblacion* is San Isidro. Barrio Caticugan purposively established its fiesta the last of February in order not to conflict with the Zamboanguita fiesta which is held on May 15, San Isidro's birthday. The birthdays of the patron saints of Barrio Caticugan and Giliga-on occur during Holy Week. The fiestas in these two *barrios* are always postponed several weeks since dancing and gambling, and certain fiesta food, would be inappropriate during such a religious period.

The religious aspects of the original fiesta complex have been significantly modified. For the majority of the Filipinos, the religious character of the contemporary rural Philippine fiesta has assumed a relatively minor [794] part in the festivities. Often communities feel it necessary to justify the fiesta, with its dancing, feasting and gambling, for charitable purposes which were not part of the original complex.[4] Fiestas are now held to raise money for a worthy cause, to build a need public, building, etc., instead of solely in honor of the patron saint. Abaya has written:

> Now piety is only a subtle flavor which the inveterate fiesta-goer often fails to sample in the melange of more exciting ingredients. It is localized in the morning mass and perhaps a procession in the afternoon, which is convenient for skirting around by those who have other plans for their time.[5]

There are four reference points in the contemporary fiesta complex in regard to religion, although they are not as rigidly categorized as this pre-

[4] The writer obtained the figures of the total income and expenses of some fiestas advertised, basically as charitable affairs. The amount of money remaining after the expenses of the event were paid was sometimes a mere pittance. The money spent on the orchestra, rental of the "Queen's gown and crown, etc. could have been reduced and a larger fund raised for charitable purposes. This observation is not meant as a criticism of such fiestas, merely a generalization that the charitable aspects of the fiesta appears to be a public rationalization by those who feel its diminished religious significance no longer justifies the fiesta's continuance.

[5] Abaya, *loc. cit.*

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

621 181

602 181

996 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

435 181

426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*